

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

Formerly THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 51, No. 2

NOVEMBER 1957

WHOLE No. 1229

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THE CLASSICS*

I feel that I have a difficult task before me, to speak to you after the speakers you have been listening to. In spite of the pleasant things Mr. Latimer has undoubtedly told you about me — I am quite deaf and could hear only a little — I seem to myself a postscript. But there is something good and sustaining in the idea because postscripts are always brief, and I am going to talk to you about my especial delight, the classic world, so when I am tempted to wander away in that entrancing country from the particular little path I have set for myself today, that notion of being a postscript will check me and call me back.

When I read discussions on education it often seems to me that one important side of the matter is not emphasized enough, the purely personal side, the fact that it is so much more agreeable and interesting to be an educated person than not. The sheer pleasure of being educated does not seem to

me to be stressed very much. Once long ago I was talking with a man educated as few could be more, the greatest Greek scholar our country has produced. Professor Gildersleeve of the Johns Hopkins. He was an old man and he had been honoured everywhere, in Europe as well as in America. He was just back from a celebration held for him in Oxford. I asked him what compliment received in his long life had pleased him most. The question amused him and he laughed over it, but he thought too. Finally he said, "I believe it was when one of my students said, 'Professor, you have so much fun with your own mind.'" Stevenson said that a man ought to be able to spend two or three hours waiting for a train at a little country station when he was all alone and had nothing to read, and not be bored for a moment.

What is the education which can do this? What is the furniture which makes the only place belonging absolutely to each one of us, the world within, a place where we like to go? I wish I could answer that question. I wish I could set before you a perfect decorator's design warranted to make any interior lovely and interesting and stimulating, but even if I could, we are not made like that; we would have to try different designs. My point is only that while we must and should rearrange the furniture, we ought to throw old furniture away very cautiously. It may turn out to be irreplaceable. A great deal was thrown away in the last generation or so, long enough ago to show some of the results. Furniture which had for centuries been foremost, we lightly, in a few years, discarded. The classics almost vanished from our field of education. That was a

* Miss Hamilton's paper was read at the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of CAAS, New York City, April 26, 1957.

Miss Hamilton, elected an honorary member of CAAS at the anniversary meeting (cf. *CW* 50 [1956-57] 213), assuredly needs no formal introduction to classical readers. Her *Greek Way*, her *Roman Way*, and numerous other publications have themselves become classics in the interpretative literature of our field.

Readers of the present paper and of Miss Hamilton's latest book, *The Echo of Greece* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1957), would, we think, greatly enjoy a charming interview on the occasion of her trip to New York ("Nineteen and a Half Minutes") as reported in *The New Yorker* (May 11, 1957, pp. 36f.) — Ed.

great change and along with it came another. There is a marked difference between the art and thought of the past and the artists and thinkers of today who have been educated without benefit of Greek and Latin. Is this a matter of cause and effect? People must decide for themselves, but I do not think anyone will question the statement that clear-thinking is not the characteristic which distinguishes our art and philosophy today. The popular philosophy is Existentialism. I have read everything that has come my way about it. I am unable to give you any reasoned account of it, beyond the fact that it seems to illustrate in itself the impotence and frustration it stresses. As for art — well, a young poet came to see me not long ago. I told him that I could not understand most modern poetry. "The other day," I said, "I learned a line by heart because it seemed to me typical of today's poetry: 'we are the eyelids of defeated caves' — eyelids of defeated caves. What does that mean?" I asked him. My young poet meditated. "I know the man who wrote that line," he said. "Oh," I said. "Then you can tell me what it means." "No," he said. "I can't, but when I see him I will ask him." And it was perfectly evident that he admired the line. People today enjoy unintelligibility. Of course it is perfectly true that in our earthquake world artists cannot go on writing Tennysonian poems or painting Raphael madonnas — even if they had the ability to do so — but to reject intelligibility because Tennyson is intelligible or beauty because the Sistine Madonna is beautiful argues an inability to think or, what is equally disastrous, a disinclination to think. Neither disposition marked the Greeks. They had, as Matthew Arnold put it, "an unclouded clearness of mind." That distinguished the Romans, too. They were able to put a statement into an incredibly small number of words without losing a particle of intelligibility. It is under the present generation who have never had to deal with a Latin sentence, that the jargon of government, gobbledegook, has developed — and the appalling size of the Congressional Record — and the overburdened mail service.

Am I urging the study of Greek and Latin and their civilizations for the atomic age? Yes: that is just what I am doing. I urge it without qualifications. We have a great civilization to save — or to lose. The greatest civilization before ours was the Greek. They challenge us and we need the challenge. They rose to the very height, but not because they were big, they were very small; not because they were rich, they were very poor; not even because they had great intellectual and artistic gifts; doubtless so had others in the splendid empires of the ancient

world, who are gone leaving little for us. The Greek way was the way the thinkers and the artists of the western world were to go. The Romans made it into a great road.

Don't be afraid that I am now going to make the familiar comparisons between fifth century Athens B.C. and twentieth century New York A.D. — the Parthenon as the Greek idea of church architecture, the fact that Sophocles was the great drawing card in the theatres, that Socrates found on every street corner and in every Athenian equivalent of the baseball field people who were caught up by his questions into the world of thought. I want to stress only what was fundamental to all this. Basic to all the Greeks did was Greek freedom. The Greeks were free; no one told them what to do, or what to think, no church or political party or powerful private interests or labor unions. Greek

The Classical World, formerly *The Classical Weekly*, is published monthly from October to May. Owner and Publisher, The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of Publication, Fordham University, 441 East Fordham Road, New York 58, N. Y.

General subscription price, \$3.75 per volume in Western Hemisphere; elsewhere \$4.25. Price to members of C. A. A. S. \$3.25. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers, to subscribers, 40 cents, to others, 60 cents prepaid (otherwise 60 cents and 80 cents). If affidavit to invoice is required, 60 cents must be added to subscription price. For residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, subscription to *The Classical World* (or, alternatively, to *The Classical Journal*) is included in membership fee of C. A. A. S.; members may also take *Classical Outlook*, *Classical Journal*, and *Classical Bulletin* at special combination prices available from Prof. F. Gordon Stockin, Houghton College, Houghton, N. Y., Sec.-Treas., C. A. A. S.

Reentered as second class matter December 14, 1950 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925 authorized December 14, 1950.

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schools had no donors of endowments they must pay attention to, no government financial backing. To be sure they had to take full responsibility, but that is always the price for full freedom. The Greeks were a strong people; they could pay the price. Basic to their freedom was the fact — quite unique — that the special characteristic of the Greeks was a desire to know. They wanted to find out the truth. Homer's hero is always cited as a typical Greek when he prays for "More light, O Zeus. Give us more light." The Greeks pressed on toward the source of light, toward the mark for the prize of their high calling. They left behind them habits and customs that prevailed everywhere else. Consider just one example. It was the custom — during how many millenniums who can say? — for a victor to erect a trophy, a monument of his victory. In Egypt where stone was plentiful it would be a slab engraved with his glories. Farther east where the sand took over it might be a great heap of severed heads, quite permanent objects; bones last a long time. But in Greece, though a man could erect a trophy, it must be made of wood and it could never be repaired. Even as the victor set it up he would see in his mind how soon it would decay and sink into ruin, and there it must be left. The Greeks in their onward pressing toward more light, had learned a great deal. They knew the victor might be the vanquished next time. There should be no permanent records of the manifestly impermanent. They had learned a great deal. There was said to have been an old inscription at Delphi which stated as men's aim, "to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world." Aristotle said that the city was built first for safety, but then that men might discover the good life and lead it. So the Athenians did according to Pericles, as reported by Thucydides, that stern judge of human affairs. Pericles said that Athens stood for freedom and for thought and for beauty, but in the Greek way, within limits, without exaggeration. The Athenians loved beauty, he said, but with economy, they would not have the softness of luxury; they loved the things of the mind, but they did not shrink from hardship. Thought did not cause them to hesitate, it clarified the road to action. If they had riches they did not make a show of them, and no one was ashamed of being poor if he was useful. Only an ideal? Of course. No one was better aware of the fact than that clear-minded man of penetrating thought, Thucydides, himself an Athenian. Nevertheless this speech which he ascribed to Pericles was beyond doubt of great importance to him. He knew what ideals can do, how powerful they are to lift up when they are lofty and to drag down and make

decadent when they are low and then, by and by, they themselves fade away and are forgotten. The Greek ideals and the Roman ideals have had a power of persistent life.

Is it rational that now when the young people may have to face problems harder than we face, is it reasonable that with the atomic age before them, at this time we are giving up the study of how the Greeks and Romans prevailed magnificently in a barbaric world, the study, too, of how that triumph ended, how a slackness and softness finally came over them to their ruin? In the end, more than they wanted the truth, they wanted security, a comfortable life, and they lost all, security and comfort and the truth.

Sir Richard Livingstone says that in the west only in the classical world can there be seen clearly the struggle of mankind toward freedom and ennoblement, the struggle from what Gilbert Murray has called "effortless barbarism." Nothing effortless was among the good things the Greeks and Romans sought for. Back in the 8th or 9th century a great poet said,

Before the gates of Excellence the high gods have placed
sweat.

Long is the road thereto and steep and rough at the first.
But when the height is achieved then is there ease.

I have always put with this the best definition of happiness I know, Aristotle's. It is, he says, "the exercise of vital powers along lines of excellence in

In Early Issues —

December

S. Lieberman, "College Classical Departments: Second Annual List."

R. O'Halloran, C.S.B., "Classical Programs in American High Schools: A Survey."

January

L. A. Campbell, "Inexpensive Books for Teaching the Classics: Ninth Annual List."

G. E. Duckworth, "A Survey of Recent Work on Vergil."

H. C. Schnur, "Classics in Modern German Schools."

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We are happy to announce, in response to many inquiries, that our annual list of Greek and Latin textbooks, omitted in the last volume, will be resumed in a spring issue. Coverage will be broadened to include texts at both school and college levels.

a life affording them scope." Both passages breathe the same spirit of energy, of vitality, of conquest.

At this point I break the continuity of my discourse to quote what a wise and witty writer has said is the spirit of American education today, "If at first you don't succeed, try something else." Well, for the Greeks and the Romans, Plato was spokesman when he said with finality, "Hard is the good."

We cannot believe that they alone had a vision of what St. John calls "the true light," which, he adds, "lighteth every man who cometh into the world," but we must believe that the difficulties of pursuing it were too great for the others. Effortless barbarism. The Greeks and the Romans alone in the western world persisted on the long and steep and rough road. In the last two thousand years they have been outstripped by science and technology, but never in the search for truth, never in the creation of beauty and of freedom.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

EDITH HAMILTON

CICERO'S RHETORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

(Continued from page 24)

II. RHETORICAL WORKS

1. Rhetoric in Rome; Minor Works

It is difficult to make an impartial estimate of the history of rhetoric in Rome. To a large extent we are dependent on Cicero whose *De oratore* and *Orator*, despite their elegance, are unsystematic and, at times, biased. For our period we have no complete literary account. The best general article on the subject is that of W. Kroll, s.v. "Rhetorik," in *RE Suppl* 7 (1937).

Little has been published on Cicero's predecessors. Clarke has a chapter on the influence of rhetorical theory at Rome.²⁸ We may note also that Enrica Malcovati has a second edition of the fragments of the early Roman orators.²⁹

Cicero's ideal orator was the *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. The present attempt, therefore, to separate

28. See *supra*, note 8. On Cicero's place in the history of education see H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1948) of which an English translation has been published (London and New York 1956).

29. *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (*Corpus Scriptorum Romanorum Paravianum* 1955). See also her essay, "L'eloquenza romana," *AFLC* 11 (1941) 137-161.

his rhetorical and philosophical writings is merely an economic expedient. Cicero was anxious to heal the breach between eloquence and philosophy, considering oratory, including as it does both form and matter, to be an original creation of the highest order.³⁰ Naturally, he tended to emphasize the aesthetic aspects of culture and to relegate philosophy, as did Isocrates, to a subordinate place in his theory.³¹ On oratory he could speak as an expert, so that it is not surprising that his rhetorical theory and practice, in which he showed considerable originality, should coincide as his political theory and practice did not.³² Nowhere is this aspect of Cicero's genius more evident than in his dialogues.³³ So, it has been observed how in the presentation of the characters in *De oratore* — a gathering of young men round the *senex* who possesses an *auctoritas* appropriate to his years — much of the technique is Greek, but the atmosphere is thoroughly Roman.³⁴

The *De inventione* is a youthful and jejune work which compares unfavourably with the probably contemporary *Ad C. Herennium*. Though Cicero

30. See also the sympathetic appreciation by E. Gilson, "Eloquence et sagesse selon Cicéron," *Phoenix* 7 (1953) 1-19; M. Orban, "Réhabilitation de la parole dans le *De oratore* de Cicéron," *AC* 19 (1950) 27-44; W. L. Grant, "On the Moral Training of the Orator," *CJ* 38 (1942-43) 472-478; Sr. Gertrude Emilie, "Cicero and the Roman pietas," *CJ* 39 (1943-44) 536-542; P. MacKendrick, "Cicero's Ideal Orator," *CJ* 43 (1947-48) 339-347; A. Guillemin, "Cicéron et la culture latine," *REL* 25 (1947) 148-157.

31. So, J. Perret, "A propos du second discours de Crassus *De oratore* 1.45-73," *REL* 24 (1946) 168-189. This does not mean to say, however, that Cicero, despite his bias, was not interested in ideas for their own sake, whether they had a practical application or not. See P. Boyancé, "Les méthodes de l'histoire littéraire: Cicéron et son œuvre philosophique," *REL* 14 (1936) 288-309, esp. 297-300.

32. F. Solmsen, "Cicero's First Speeches: A Rhetorical Analysis," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 542-556, shows that in the emotional appeal of his attack on Chrysogonus in *Pro Roscio Amerino* Cicero had already left behind the arid theory of the Hellenistic schools and was approaching the ideals enunciated in *De oratore*. For some more general comments on the same theme see M. L. Clarke, "Ciceronian Oratory," *G&R* 14 (1945) 72-81.

33. W. Suess, "Die dramatische Kunst in den philosophischen Dialogen Ciceros," *Hermes* 80 (1952) 419-436. I have not seen E. Becker, *Technik und Szenerie des ciceronischen Dialogs* (Osnabrück 1938).

34. W. Steidle, "Einflüsse römischen Lebens und Denkens auf Ciceros Schrift *De oratore*," *MH* 9 (1952) 10-41.

Prof. Smethurst's article is the 19th in the CW series of survey articles of recent work in the various fields of classical scholarship and teaching. See CW 50 (1956-57) 35 (list of surveys in Vols. 46-49), 65, 89, 135, 159, 173ff.

later expressed a certain contempt for the work, he never entirely abandoned the stereotyped system which owed so much to the Hellenistic manuals of rhetoric. Traces of the system appear in *Partitiones oratoriae* and *Topica*, on the latter of which Riposati has published a series of studies.³⁵ The *Topica* poses many problems. It professes to be a synopsis, made from memory, of Aristotle's work of the same name. But not only does Cicero's approach differ from that of the Greek in that he compounds in a single list "topics" appropriate to all arguments, whether philosophical or rhetorical, but also in that he introduces topics derived from Stoicism. It is his exclusive attention to Aristotle which partly vitiates Riposati's useful work.³⁶

2. The Asianist—Atticist Controversy

Comparatively little has been written on the individual rhetorical works of Cicero's maturity.³⁷ Most interest has been centered on the Asianist—Atticist controversy. The most provocative work has been produced by Castorina.³⁸ Briefly his argument is as follows. Throughout his career Cicero was torn by a conflict between his true nature, which was meditative and theoretical, and his desire for practical action. There are three phases to be noted in his intellectual development. In the first, before his quaestorship, his intellectual nature was dominant. In the second the practical motive is paramount until his political eclipse, whereupon his speculative nature reasserted itself. Castorina's argument that Cicero was an Atticist in his youth (first phase), turned to Asianism in the middle period, and finally reverted to a moderate Atticism will not bear examination. Though the praise of brevity in *De inventione* might be interpreted as approval of Atticism, the earliest speeches, *Pro Quinctio* etc., are anything but Attic. His speeches as a whole do indicate a progressive maturity, but not along the lines of development that Castorina postulates. Those delivered both before and after his consulship show a similar exuberance.³⁹ However, from the *Pro Roscio Comoedo* onwards the exuberance is controlled, while the emotion is more sustained. Cicero

is now moving towards the rhetorical ideal of *De oratore* — *docere, delectare, movere*.⁴⁰

Before satisfactory progress can be made on the Asianist—Atticist problem the terms themselves must be clarified. At present the scholar must choose between Norden's view that Asianism implied a corrupt style and that of Wilamowitz who argued, against Norden, over fifty years ago that Asianism had no derogatory connotation, except during the few years at the end of the Republic.⁴¹ Desmouliez has recently tackled the problem from a different angle, arguing that the controversy was but one aspect of a general artistic reaction, in Greece and Asia as well as Italy, against Hellenistic style, and that Cicero was defending Roman taste against the Atticists.⁴² No safe conclusion seems possible until we know more about Cicero's contemporaries.⁴³

There have also been a few studies on Cicero's irony, his use of digressions, and one sensible article by Baley on prose rhythm.⁴⁴

3. History in the Training of the Orator

In the training of the orator the study of history is important. History is "testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae" (*De orat.* 2.36). From it the orator-statesman may gather *exempla virtutis* to point a speech, or to provide

press his figures with a new economy of words. So, L. Laurand, "Sur l'évolution de la langue et du style de Cicéron," *RPh* 59 (1933) 62-72, contrasts the clumsy combinations of words and ill-balanced periods of *Pro Quinctio* with the neatness of the last *Philippic*. On the subject of Cicero's oratorical training generally see F. A. Sullivan, *Cicero's Oratorical Education* (New York 1940). 40. See F. Solmsen, "Aristotle and Cicero on the Orator's Playing on the Feelings," *CP* 33 (1938) 399-404. See also *supra* note 32.

41. For a recent statement of Wilamowitz' view see A. E. Douglas, "M. Calidius and the Atticists," *CR* 49 (1955) 241-247, who argues that Atticism of Calvus' type was a "side-track," standing apart from the main Roman rhetorical tradition of which Cicero was the central figure.

42. A. Desmouliez, "Sur la polémique de Cicéron et des atticistes," *REL* 30 (1952) 168-185.

43. E. Castorina, *Licinio Calvo* (Catania 1946) has, for instance, noted the discrepancy between Cicero's portrait of Calvus and that of later critics.

44. H. V. Canter, "Irony in the Orations of Cicero," *AJP* 57 (1936) 457-464, has compressed a great deal of information into a few pages; Elizabeth H. Haight, *The Roman Use of Anecdotes in Cicero, Livy and the Satirists* (New York 1940); T. Baley, "Ciceronian Metrics and *Clausulae*," *CJ* 33 (1937-38) 336-350; on prose rhythm and *clausulae* see also the study (mimeographed) by I. Cazzaniga, *Il "Brutus" di Cicerone* (Milan 1947) 101-126. I have not seen H. Altervogt, *Der Bildungsbegriff im Wortschatze Ciceros* (Emsdetten 1940) or the doctoral dissertation by A. Haury, *L'ironie et l'humour chez Cicéron* (Leiden 1954).

35. B. Riposati, *Studi sui Topica di Cicerone* (Milan 1947).

36. See also F. Solmsen, "The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric," *AJP* 62 (1941) 35-50, 169-190.

37. E. A. Robinson, "The Date of Cicero's *Brutus*," *HSCP* 60 (1951) 137-146, argues convincingly for late October or the beginning of November 47.

38. E. Castorina, *L'Atticismo nell' evoluzione del pensiero di Cicerone* (Catania 1952).

39. F. Klinger, "Ciceros Rede für den Schauspieler Roscius. Eine Episode der Entwicklung seiner Kunstprosa," *SBAW* 1953, No. 4, argues that though Cicero did not learn a new style under Molon, he did learn to organize and ex-

a guide for conduct. Cicero's attitude has often been misunderstood. The notorious letter to Luceius (*Fam. 5.12*) and Cicero's statement in *Brutus 43*, "concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis, ut aliquid dicere possint argutius," have been interpreted as demonstrating Cicero's lack of concern for historical truth. Yet Cicero can draw an accurate distinction between fact and fable, history and encomium.⁴⁵ Rambaud has vigorously defended Cicero, contending that not only was his conception of history acute and penetrating, but that he was more of a historian than a philosopher.⁴⁶ It was the conflict between these two aspects of Cicero's genius that explain many of his apparent inconsistencies of conduct. Only in *De re publica*, Rambaud argues, was there a temporary synthesis of the two. Defourney in an interesting article suggests that, contrary to general opinion, Cicero does not, like Isocrates, regard historical studies as a preparation for oratory.⁴⁷ They are designed for the bar, so that Defourney would distinguish between oratorical and historical style, a distinction which he believes Cicero always maintained.

III. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

1. Greek Theory and Roman Practice

Cicero was in the unhappy position of being a moderate in a time of extremes, a sensitive man in a comparatively brutal age, and an idealist and dreamer impelled partly by vanity, partly by a sense of duty, to plunge into the morass of Roman *Realpolitik*. As the foremost orator of his age it was his intention to revive the concept of the orator-statesman that had animated the Athenians in their greatest days.⁴⁸ His rhetorical gifts, his considerable political insight, all the wisdom that he had culled from Greek thought must be subordinated to one end — service of the Roman state. His career and his philosophical thought must be judged from this comprehensive standpoint.

45. See A. Guillemin, "La lettre de Cicéron à Luceius (*Fam. 5.12*)," *REL* 16 (1938) 96-103; M. L. W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Berkeley 1949) 35 ff.; V. Paladini, "Sul pensiero storiografico di Cicerone," *Latomus* 6 (1947) 329-344; P. Boyancé, "Sur Cicéron et l'histoire (*Brut. 41-43*)," *REA* 42 (1940) 53-58. B. L. Ullman, "History and Tragedy," *APA* 73 (1942) 25-53, argues that the letter to Luceius does not contradict the principles of *De oratore*. The proposed work was intended to be a "literary monograph."

46. M. Rambaud, *Cicéron et l'histoire romaine* (Paris 1953).

47. P. Defourney, "Histoire et éloquence d'après Cicéron," *LEC* 21 (1953) 156-166.

48. See S. E. Smethurst, "Cicero and Isocrates," *APA* 84 (1953) 262-320; E. de Saint-Denis, "La théorie ciceronienne de la participation aux affaires publiques," *RPh* 64 (1938) 193-215.

It is his failure to judge Cicero's career except in terms of practical politics which leads Syme in his important work to conclusions that are unsympathetic, if not actually unfair, to Cicero.⁴⁹ While it is true that Cicero was at times guilty of sacrificing his principles to expediency, and of defending Roman policies that seem indefensible, the moral and political problems involved were often complex, so that the very hesitancy for which he has been censured was induced by his awareness of them.⁵⁰

It is possible, though unjust, to condemn Cicero as a mere reactionary. It is impossible simply to dismiss him as Pompey's "Yes-man" or as an unrealistic writer of Utopias. In his interesting, though difficult, study Lepore has traced the development of Cicero's theory of the state from his appeal to the *consensus bonorum* in *Pro Sestio* to the great dialogues.⁵¹ He concludes that Cicero was a true patriot fighting to establish a dynamic whereby the Republic might be saved. In his system Greek political thought and philosophy played their part, but it was the Roman spirit with its traditional concepts of *imperium, auctoritas, iudicium populi* which gave order and meaning to Cicero's state.⁵²

2. Sources

Cicero's use of his sources was personal, not to

49. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939). Of course, Syme's observations are by the way, and must not necessarily be construed as his final verdict on Cicero. See also the remarks by Allen (130) on the trend started by Syme.

50. P. F. Izzo, "Cicero and Political Expediency," *CW* 42 (1948) 168-172; S. E. Smethurst, "Cicero and Roman imperial policy," *APA* 84 (1953) 216-226; Miss E. M. Sanford, "Romans and provincials in the Late Republic," *CW* 42 (1948-49) 195-201. See also MacKendrick (*supra*, note 30) on Cicero as a reactionary. For more favourable views see R. Feger, "Cicero und die Zerstörung Korinths," *Hermes* 80 (1952) 436-456, who argues that Cicero did condemn the destruction of Corinth, and that the contradiction between *De off. 3.46* and *De imp. Gn. Pomp. 11* is more apparent than real; R. N. Wilkin, "Cicero, Oracle of Natural Law," *CJ* 44 (1948-49) 453-456; P. de Ravinel, "Ciceron, est-il un bavard?" *LEC* 23 (1955) 14-26.

51. E. Lepore, *Il princeps ciceroniano e gli ideali politici della tarda repubblica* (Naples 1954). On *Pro Sestio* see M. Gelzer, s.v. "Tullius" 29, *RE* 7A (1939) 935ff., and P. Boyancé, "Cum Dignitate Otium," *REA* 43 (1941) 172-191.

52. M. Ruch, "Chronologie et valeur respective des disciplines gréco-romaines dans la pensée de Cicéron," *LEC* 22 (1954) 351-365; K. Buechner, "Die Beste Verfassung: Eine philologische Untersuchung zu den ersten drei Büchern von Ciceros 'Staat,'" *SIFC* 26 (1952) 37-140; H. Roloff, "Ciceron und die Macht der Vorfahren," *NJAB* 2 (1939) 257-266. I have not seen the dissertation by Marianne Kretschmer, *Otium, Studia Litterarum, Philosophie und Bios Théoréticos im Leben und Denken Ciceros* (Leipzig 1938) except in review by Klotz, *PW* 61 (1941) 76-80.

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say unscholarly. His reading in Greek was wide, but often superficial, and he relied too much on his memory instead of re-reading the originals. He was not a philosopher in the strict sense of the Greek term. Though his love of learning was genuine, he was too often the advocate despite himself, so that his philosophical judgments were rarely unprejudiced. Consequently, modern writers have come to conclusions on his trustworthiness that differ according to the particular Ciceronian source that they have consulted.

Miss DeGraff argues that Cicero had quite an "intimate knowledge" of Plato, and considers that his careful account of Platonic ethics gives us confidence in what Cicero has to say about the ethical works of writers now lost to us.⁵³ Similarly, Jones believes that Cicero gives us an exact survey of Varro's philosophical ideas, though in the same article he admits that Cicero was not only capable of idealizing Brutus for propaganda purposes, but attributed to Scipio in the *Republic* and Crassus in *De oratore* ideas that were his own.⁵⁴ There is, on the other hand, complete agreement that Cicero was prejudiced against and ignorant of Epicureanism. Vicol has made a thorough study of the manner in which Cicero presents and refutes Epicurean doctrine in its various aspects.⁵⁵ He concludes that Cicero's dislike of the Epicureans was caused by his concern for the decline of the civic virtues. Howe adduces a political motive.⁵⁶ By attacking Epicureans such as Amphinius, the writer of a popular handbook, Cicero hoped to win over the municipal leaders to the republican cause. De Lacy has demonstrated that in attacking Piso Cicero used anti-epicurean polemics fashionable in popular philosophical literature of the time without even bothering to fit his arguments to the case at issue.⁵⁷ Miss Packer contends that Cicero had studied the texts, but that he did not understand the philosophy as a whole, and was vague

53. Thelma B. DeGraff, "Plato in Cicero," *CP* 35 (1940) 143-153. But L. Mahieu, "Cicéron moraliste," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* (Lille, Facultés Catholiques) 5 (1948) 89-109, thinks that Cicero's knowledge of Plato and Aristotle was unsystematic and superficial.

54. R. E. Jones, "Cicero's Accuracy of Characterization in his Dialogues," *AJP* 60 (1939) 307-325.

55. C. Vicol, "Cicerone espositore e critico dell' epicureismo," *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 10 (1945) 155-347; B. Duszynska, "Cicero's Argumentation in the First Dialogue of his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*," *Eos* 43 (1948) 211-218, also finds shortcomings in Cicero's presentation.

56. H. M. Howe, "Amphinius, Lucretius, and Cicero," *AJP* 72 (1951) 57-62.

57. P. De Lacy, "Cicero's Invective against Piso," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 49-59.

even about the precise connotation of *bédoné*.⁵⁸ Against Miss DeGraff, she considers that his unreliable treatment of Epicureanism is useful for forming a general estimate of Cicero's methods.

A problem related to Cicero's use of his sources is that of his translation of Greek terms. Cicero was faced with two difficulties. The Latin language lacked certain verbal and grammatical nuances necessary for precise translation. He had also to satisfy the stylistic demands of his contemporaries.⁵⁹ Though he was not entirely successful in inventing a philosophical vocabulary — *officium*, to take an obvious example does not have all the connotations of *katékon* — his achievement in coining words was notable.⁶⁰ He thoroughly earned his reputation as the founder of Latin philosophical terminology.⁶¹

On turning from Cicero's use of his sources to modern research on the sources themselves we should first note a series of articles by Philipsson. For Cicero's criticism of the Epicureans in the *Tusculans* Philipsson postulates some Academic source which is abandoned towards the end of Cotta's discourse in favour of some Stoic authority, probably the one followed in Book 2.⁶² Velleius' exposition of Epicurean theology in *De nat. deor.* 1.18-56 is, he believes, based on an epitome of Philodemus of which

58. M. N. P. Packer, *Cicero's Presentation of Epicurean Ethics* (New York 1938). G. Freymuth, "Eine Anwendung von Epikurs Isonomiegesetz (Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 1.50)," *Philologus* 98 (1954) 101-115, points out that in this passage Cicero has misunderstood the sequence of ideas in his source.

59. R. Poncelet, "Cicéron traducteur de Platon," *REL* 25 (1947) 178-196, and "Deux aspects du style philosophique latin: Cicéron et Chalcidius, traducteurs du Phédre 425C," *REL* 28 (1950) 145-167.

60. G. Kilb, *Ethische Grundbegriffe der alten Stoa und ihre Uebertragung durch Cicero im dritten Buch de finibus bonorum et malorum* (Freiburg 1939), notes Cicero's choice of *perturbatio* for *pathos* since *motus* and *affectus* were too narrow in their connotation: *laetitia* for *bédoné* to avoid Epicurean implications, *praepositum* for *proégmenon*, *reiectum* for *apoproégmenon*, etc.; M. van den Bruaene, "Psyché et nous dans le Somnium Scipionis de Cicéron," *LEC* 8 (1939) 127-152, observes that owing to the teaching of Antiochus Cicero translates both terms by *mens*; there is useful information on Cicero's use of Greek terms in A. Pittet, *Vocabulaire philosophique de Sénèque* (Paris 1937); Helen F. North makes some pertinent comments on Cicero's translation of various Greek terms concerning style and literary criticism in "Sôphrosynê in Greek Literary Criticism," *CP* 43 (1948) 1-17.

61. See Mary A. Trouard, *Cicero's Attitude towards the Greeks* (Chicago 1942) 52ff.

62. R. Philipsson, "Des Akademikers Kritik der epikureischen Theologie im ersten Buche der *Tusculanen* Ciceros," *SO* 20 (1940) 21-44.

Pap. Herc. 168 may preserve a fragment.⁶³ For the second and third books he believes that Cicero had not consulted directly the many Stoic treatises he cites, but used some philosophical manual for his quotations.⁶⁴ So, the differences between the first and second parts of the speech by Balbus suggests the use of two sources, one on the gods and one (from some Old Stoic source) on Pronoea. Philipsson speculates on the possibility that Cicero had asked a Stoic friend to give him a resume of the doctrine on the gods which did not include an account of Pronoea. For his critique of these theories Cicero goes back "without doubt" to Philo of Larissa.⁶⁵ The present writer hopes that he will not seem lacking in respect to the memory of a fine scholar, if he observes that Philipsson's conclusions must be considered very tentative.

63. "Die Quelle der epikureischen Götterlehre in Ciceros ersten Buche *De Natura Deorum*," *SO* 19 (1939) 15-40. See the same writer's article on Philodemus in *RE* 19.2 (1938) 2444-2482.

64. "Cicero, *De natura deorum* Buch II und III. Eine Quellenuntersuchung," *SO* 21 (1941) 11-38, 22 (1942) 8-39, 23 (1944) 7-31, 24 (1945) 16-47.

65. I have not seen the doctoral dissertation by L. Krumme, *Die Kritik der stoischen Theologie in Ciceros Schrift de nat. deor.* (Göttingen 1941).

Barigazzi has also examined the first book of the *Tusculans*.⁶⁶ He disputes the common view that the part dealing with the immortality of the soul derives from a Stoic source, arguing that it is based on Academic doctrine, works of Aristotle's youth, and on Crantor. Van den Bruwaene finds traces of Poseidonios in the same work.⁶⁷

3. Political Theory

Wirszubski has demonstrated clearly the tension between *libertas*, a concept based on law and the equality of all citizens before the law (*aequum ius*), and *dignitas* which the Roman aristocracy were con-

66. A. Barigazzi, "Sulle fonti del libro I delle *Tusculane* di Cicerone," *RFIC* 26 (1948) 161ff., 28 (1950) 1-29.

67. M. van den Bruwaene, "Traces de Poseidonios dans le premier livre des *Tusculanes*," *LEC* 11 (1942) 55-66. The same writer also sees Antiochus and Poseidonios as sources for the *Somnium Scipionis*; see *supra*, note 60. This identification is disputed by P. Boyancé, "Sur le Songe de Scipion," *LEC* 11 (1942) 5-22, to which van den Bruwaene has a reply in the same number (23-24). A. J. Festugière, "Les Thèmes du Songe de Scipion," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 370-388, sees in addition to the theme of immortality a contrast between the grandeur of the cosmos and the littleness of man — a commonplace based on some Hellenistic model.

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cerned to maintain and, if possible, to increase.⁶⁸ He considers that the disorder of the last century of the Republic was the product of attempts by Optimates and Populares to solve this tension. In this conflict of ideas Cicero played a prominent part both in the forum and in the study. Though his book is sound, Wirszubski confines himself to a study of *libertas* in its juridical sense, and, as Momigliano points out in a valuable review, he has not given us a chronological analysis of Cicero's use of the term.⁶⁹

The Romans quickly discovered that loss of political rights involved danger to moral values. So, the *De officiis* is, judged from one aspect, an attempt to provide a moral code for an aristocracy liberated from Caesar's tyranny. Lepore observes that political virtue has a moral criterion which is basic for an

understanding of the political theory of *De re publica* and *De legibus*, just as there are political overtones in many of Cicero's philosophical works.⁷⁰ But Cicero was well aware of the necessity for a moral criterion whereby the statesman could regulate his conduct long before he produced *De officiis*. For this aspect of his thought interpretation of the *cum dignitate otium* of *Pro Sestio* (96ff.) is important. Boyancé considers that this passage relates to the study Cicero had most at heart, moral philosophy.⁷¹ It is a preview, as it were, of *De re publica*.⁷² Wirszubski, on the other hand, while not denying the philosophical undertones, argues that in this speech Cicero was not concerned with the education of the statesman so much as with "via ac ratio rei publicae capessendae" (*ibid.* 103) and that the speech should therefore be judged against the troubled political background of the middle fifties.⁷³

68. Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea in Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (London and New York 1950).

69. A. Momigliano, *JRS* 41 (1951) 146-153. We need a study of *libertas* as used for propaganda by Cicero's contemporaries as well as by Cicero himself. For the use of *libertas* as a political catch-word to defame an opponent see W. Allen, Jr., "Cicero's House and *libertas*," *TAPA* 75 (1944) 1-9; for another propaganda word see the same writer's "Caesar's *Regnum* (Suet. *Iul.* 9.2)," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 227-236.

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To whichever view we incline, it is clear that for Cicero the statesman's moral education was fundamental.⁷⁴ Indebted though he was to Greek thought, which had imposed on later political theory what we may not unjustly describe as the tyrannical ideal of the mixed constitution, Cicero, as a practical politician, knew that a mechanical arrangement of checks and balances could not itself give the Roman state stability.⁷⁵ The last few years of the Republic had proved that something more was needed. What means, apart from the moral instruction of the citizen, were there to ensure law and order? In the opinion of many scholars Cicero's solution was the office of *rector*, or *moderator rei publicae*. Unfortu-

70. See *supra*, note 51.

71. P. Boyancé, "Cum Dignitate Otium," *REA* 43 (1941) 172-191, argues that Cicero's concept goes back to Aristotle who makes contemplation the end of human activity, and to a lost treatise on ambition by Theophrastus. On the speech see also M. Gelzer, s.v. "Tullius" (29), *RE* 7A (1939) 935ff.

72. See also R. Stark, "Cicero's Staatsdefinition," *La Nouvelle Clio* 6 (1954) 56-69, who believes that Cicero's definition of the state derives from the Aristotelian concept of *communis utilitas* together with the juridical concept of *iuris consensus*.

73. Ch. Wirszubski, "Cicero's *Cum Dignitate Otium*: A Reconsideration," *JRS* 44 (1954) 1-13.

74. G. Lombardi, "Il concetto di *ius publicum* negli scritti di Cicero," *RIL* 72 (1939) 465-483, observes that originally *ius publicum* was that which was explicitly established by the people. Opposed to this concept in Cicero we find *ius privatum* which he conceives as a complex of norms and institutions in which he would allow the individual considerable latitude of judgment.

75. M. Hammond, *City State and World State in Greek and Roman Theory until Augustus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951) 79-80, comments on the paralysing effect of the theory of the mixed constitution, but does not develop this theme.

nately, there is as much disagreement on the function and position of this magistracy (if magistracy it was intended to be) as there has been on Cicero's purpose in writing the *Republic* and *Laus*.⁷⁶ Grenade considers the *Republic* utopian, even though he does not deny the possibility that Augustus took up and developed views advanced by Cicero.⁷⁷ Lepore in general restates the view of Heinze that the *princeps* is the ideal type of statesman. Wheeler, however, suggests that the "metaphorical character" of the terms *gubernator* etc. imply that the "elder statesman" was not intended to hold office, but was

76. R. Heinze, *Vom Geist des Römertums* (Leipzig 1938) 144-155, believes that the *Republic* was written to show "what a fine state the Roman Republic had once been." R. Meister, "Der Staatslenker in Ciceros *De re publica*," *WS* 57 (1939) 57-112, thinks that his purpose was to re-establish the ancient order in the state. Wirszubski (*supra*, note 68), like V. Poeschl, *Römisches Staat und griechisches Staatsdenken bei Cicero* (Berlin 1933), believes that he was merely proposing to remedy the crying evils of the state.

77. P. Grenade, "Remarques sur la théorie cicéronienne dite du 'principat,'" *MEFR* 57 (1940) 32-63; see also U. Knoche, "Die geistige Vorbereitung der Augusteischen Epoche durch Cicero," *Das neue Bild der Antike* (ed. H. Berve; Leipzig 1942) II 200-218.

the "external architect of the ideal state," Cicero himself.⁷⁸

The differences between these viewpoints are not, of course, irreconcilable. It is difficult to believe that a practical politician like Cicero should at such a critical time in republican history take time off to write what merely intended as a Utopia. Even if he believed that his system was for the moment impracticable, it was worth while enunciating principles that could be applied to the solution of current problems. If his contemporaries refused to apply even the principles he had set forth, he could at least console himself with the reflection that the *Republic* might contribute to the *laus bonorum* which conferred immortality on the statesman.⁷⁹ Cicero was still not completely disillusioned. It was only in the last year of his life that, saddened by the desperate political situation, he left unpublished his

78. M. Wheeler, "Cicero's Political Ideal," *G&R* 21 (1952) 49-56.

79. F. A. Sullivan, "Cicero and *Gloria*," *TAPA* 72 (1941) 382-391, remarks on the progressive depth of Cicero's conception of glory from the applause of the crowd to the *laus bonorum*. See also the English summary by A. D. Leeman of his book on *Gloria* (Rotterdam 1949).

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last political work, the *Laws*, which he had almost completed.⁸⁰

4. Philosophy and Religion

To Cicero the life of the statesman was the highest form of achievement. Consequently, though he was aware of the value of philosophy in moulding the character of the statesman, he insisted that it should be the handmaid of politics which is *munus adsignatum a deo*. He was attracted to Stoicism which provided much of the philosophical basis of the *Republic* and *Laws*, yet he remained an Academic, even though inconsistently he could bid the New Academy be silent, since it had often introduced confusion into political thought (*De leg.* 1.39).

It is against this background that we should judge Hunt's interesting book on humanism in Cicero.⁸¹ Hunt's humanism is not the Ciceronian *humanitas*. Rather it is a philosophical system concerned primarily with mankind. Hunt believes that Cicero had a coherent plan in the works written in 45 and 44. The *Academics* is intended to illustrate the contrasting views of Antiochus (here representing the Stoic viewpoint) and the New Academy on perception. *De finibus* and the *Tusculans* demonstrate the disagreement of Antiochus with certain aspects of Stoic ethics. The cosmological and theological works attack the Middle Stoics for their denial of freedom, while *De officiis* returns to the ethical problems raised by *De finibus* and the *Tusculans*, and concludes with a statement of Cicero's own ethical standards. It is encouraging to see Antiochus receiving due credit for his influence on Cicero. Nevertheless, while admitting that *De natura deorum*, *De divinatione*, and *De fato* are related, we may ask the question, Are they discussions of human freedom? Or, what is the object of the long discussion on Epicureanism in *De finibus*? Moreover, *De officiis* certainly seems to be an independent work, the philosophical counterpart of the political treatises.

We may also observe that religion might well seem to Cicero more important than abstract phi-

sophical speculation because of its practical application to politics.⁸² Defourney points out that Cicero's attention to Roman religion was promoted by its antiquity and its vital role in the state.⁸³ Philosophy could not, in Cicero's opinion, provide any firm conclusions concerning religion whose basis is a belief in the gods established by almost universal consent.⁸⁴ This is no mere academic question. If the gods do not exist, or have no care for man, how can *pietas* exist (*De nat. deor.* 1.37)? Yet without *pietas*, *fides* and *iustitia*, the fundamental values of society must disappear.⁸⁵ The problem was not only political, however. The death of Tullia, which prompted speculations on immortality, only deepened an interest that he had long shown towards religion. The fact that he never found an answer to satisfy him should not mislead us into thinking that his interest was only superficial.⁸⁶ As Duff has observed, even if Cicero does not demonstrate any deep feeling of piety in the modern sense, or any clear hope of immortality, his views on the deity are noble and sincere.⁸⁷

5. Humanitas

In the final analysis Cicero sought the salvation of the state and the individual not in politics, philosophy, or religion, but in his own personal ideal of *humanitas*. In their preoccupation with special aspects of Ciceronian criticism scholars have too often tended to forget his broad humanity, his love of his fellowmen, and his devotion to law, order, and justice. His *humanitas* was a blend of universal culture, which he had learned from Isocrates, broadened and deepened by his unshaken belief in com-

82. On manipulation of the state religion generally see the fourth chapter of Lily R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1949).

83. P. Defourney, "Les fondements de la religion d'après Cicéron," *LEC* 22 (1954) 241-253, 366-378.

84. Of course, one of the many attractions that Stoicism had for Cicero was that it enabled him to distinguish between religion and superstition. See F. Solmsen, "Cicero on *religio* and *superstition*," *CW* 37 (1943-44) 159-160.

85. For articles on *pietas* and similar social values see Allen 136; also H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism* (Oxford 1947) 105-127, on *gravitas* and *maiestas*.

86. On immortality see F. A. Sullivan, "Intimations of Immortality among the Ancient Romans," *CJ* 39 (1943-44) 15-24, who deals with Cicero and Vergil as representatives of the cultured classes; also the same writer's "Cicero's Thoughts on Immortality," *Thought* 17 (1942) 270-280. J. F. Sullivan, "Consecratio in Cicero," *CW* 37 (1943-44) 157-159, in a brief but well-documented account shows the change in Cicero's attitude towards the deification of human beings from 66 to the death of Tullia.

87. J. W. Duff, rev. of M. van den Bruwaene, *La Théologie de Cicéron* (Brussels 1937), in *CR* 52 (1938) 178.

80. See E. A. Robinson, "Did Cicero Complete the *De Legibus*?" *TAPA* 74 (1943) 109-112; also the summary of the same writer's dissertation, "The Date of Cicero's *De Legibus*," *HSCP* 60 (1951) 299-301; also M. Ruch, "La composition du *De république*," *REL* 26 (1948) 157-171, and the same writer's "La question du *De Legibus*," *LEC* 17 (1949) 3-21; M. Pohlitz, "Der Eingang von Ciceros 'Gesetzen,'" *Philologus* 93 (1938) 102-127.

81. See *supra*, note 15. See also the résumé of F. A. Sullivan, "The Plan of Cicero's Philosophical Corpus," *Fordham University Dissertations*, 18 (1951) 50-53. On Cicero and Stoic ethics see also P. M. Valente, *L'éthique stoicienne chez Cicéron* (Paris 1956).

munis humani generis societas (*De off.* 3.28).⁸⁸ The term connotes both humanism and humanitarianism, and the *vir humanus* is animated by two forces, *honestum* and *decorum*, the second of which is not only a moral ideal, but an aesthetic and literary principle as well. After his death *humanitas* in the Ciceronian sense was lost.⁸⁹ It was only in the middle ages and the early Renaissance that Cicero came into his own. For Petrarch Cicero provided the model for the realization of an ideal human relationship founded on speech.⁹⁰ For others it was as a man of the state and as the theorist of the civic virtues that he had most significance.⁹¹ It is no small tribute to Cicero that he has been able to inspire and stimulate thinkers and writers of such diverse views, and to exert an influence that is still with us.⁹²

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88. For a definition of the term see the valuable article by O. E. Nybakk, "Humanitas Romana," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 396-413; E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) 18-30. I have not seen F. A. Arnaldi, "Humanitas Romana," *Rivista degli Istituti di Cultura Italiana all'Estero* 5 (1941) 169-188, nor H. Haffter, "Die römische Humanitas," *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* 21 (1954) 719-731. I have not seen the dissertation by H. F. Deijnders, *Societas Generis Humani bij Cicero* (Groningen 1954), which has a summary in English.

89. We should note, however, the influence that Cicero exerted on Christian thought. See J. T. Muckle, "The Influence of Cicero in the Formation of Christian Culture," *Proc. and Trans. of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd. Ser., Sect. II, 42 (1948) 107-125; J. N. Hritz, "St. Jerome, the Christian Cicero," *CW* 36 (1942-43) 230-231; G. Lazzati, "Il *De natura deorum* fonte del *De testimonio animae* di Tertulliano?", *Atene e Roma* 41 (1939) 153-166.

90. W. Ruegg, *Cicero and her Humanism* (Zurich 1946).

91. H. Baron, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22 (1938) 72-97.

92. R. McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 17 (1942) 1-32; E. K. Rand, *Cicero in the Courtroom of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Milwaukee 1945); G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (New York and London 1949), esp. 322ff. ("Baroque Prose"); Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Evanston 1945); E. Bréhier, "Sur une des origines de l'humanisme moderne, le *De officiis* de Cicéron," *Proc. XI Intern. Congress of Philosophy* (Amsterdam 1948) 1105-1107; G. R. Hayes, "Cicero's Humanism Today," *CJ* 34 (1938-39) 283-290; J. A. K. Thomson, *Classical Influences on English Prose* (London and New York 1956), esp. 125ff.

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My list:

Abbate, Nicolo dell' (1512-1571): (1) *Rape of Proserpine*, Paris: Louvre (a:31629).

Alma-Tadema, Sir Lawrence (1836-1912): (2) *A Reading from Homer*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:20500).

Arpino, Il Cavaliere d' (Giuseppe Cesari, 1560-1640): (3) *Perseus and Andromeda*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (b:659).

Baldung-Grien, Hans (c.1480-1545): (4) *Hercules Killing Antaeus*, Dresden: Cassel (c:911 Dr); (5) *Pyramus and Thisbe*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:23999).

Bauchant, André (1873-): (6) *Ulysses on the Isle of Calypso*, Paris: Private Collection (a:21594).

Bellini, Giovanni (c.1430-1516): (7) *Orpheus*, Washington: National Gallery of Art (a:13941; b:9329).

Botticelli, Sandro (1444-1510): (8) *Birth of Venus*, Florence: Uffizi (b:8358; c:1055; e:666r); (9) *Pallas and the Centaur*, Florence: Uffizi (a:25895; e:671 Ar); (10) *Mars and Venus*, London: National Gallery (a:16183; c:1060; e:671r).

Breughel, Pieter (c:1525-1569): (11) *Fall of Icarus*, Brussels: Royal Museum (a:28099; b:8402; c:1893; d:5123; e:817 Cr).

Caravaggio (School of), Merisi da (c.1573-1609): (12) *Chastisement of Love*, Chicago: Art Institute (a:29534).

Cima da Conegliano (Giovanni Battista Cima, c.1459-c.1517): (13) *Endymion*, Parma (e:689 E-II-r).

Correggio (Antonio Allegri, 1494-1534): (14) *Danae*, Rome: Borghese Gallery (e:785 Dr); (15) *Sleeping Antiope*, Paris: Louvre (a:31626); (16) *Rape of Ganymede*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (a:33559; b:5323; e:785r); (17) *Jupiter and Io*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (a:27836; b:5324; d:16295); (18) *Jupiter and*

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PROGRAM

THE PERSONALITY OF TITUS LIVIUS: Konrad Gries, Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.

NEITHER TO BURY NOR TO PRAISE: Mildred Lenk, Mt. Lebanon High School, Mt. Lebanon, Pa.

CRETE OF YESTERYEAR (illustrated): James A. McCulloch, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Antiope, Paris: Louvre (a:28157; c:1131; d:16290; e:785 Er); (19) *Mercury, Cupid, Venus*, London: National Gallery (a:16310; e:784 Ar); (20) *Leda and the Swan*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:4003; b:3870).

Cosimo, Piero di (1462-1521): (21) *Mars, Venus, and Love*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:6160); (22) *Death of Procris*, London: National Gallery (a:16254; e:664 Ar); (23) *Perseus Liberating Andromeda*, Florence: Uffizi (a:34633).

Coypel, Charles Antoine (1694-1752): (24) *Rape of Europa*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:28846).

Cranach, Lucas (1472-1553): (25) *Diana and Actaeon*, Hartford: Wadsworth Museum (b:8846); (26) *Judgment of Paris*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (b:211; c:1001; e:904 Ar).

David, Jacques Louis (1748-1825): (27) *Paris and Helen*, Paris: Louvre (c:3113).

Dossi, Dosso (Giovanni Luteri de Lutero de Constantino, c.1480-1542): (28) *Circe and Lovers in a Landscape*, Washington: National Gallery (a:28649; c:1517).

Dyck, Anton Van (1599-1641): (29) *Venus at the Forge of Vulcan*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (a:27917; b:5346).

Flemish Artist (c.1540): (30) *Leda*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:10671).

Francesca, Piero della (1418-1492): (31) *Mars, Venus, and Love*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:6160).

Goya y Lucientes, Francisco Jose (1746-1828): (32) *Saturn Devouring One of his Sons*, Madrid: Prado (a:26402).

Gozzoli, Benozzo (1420-1497): (33) *The Rape of Helen*, London: National Gallery (a:16195; c:1052).

Greco, El (Domenikos Theotocopoulos, 1541-1614): (34) *Laocoön*, Washington: National Gallery (b:2782; c: 2553).

Ingres, Jean Auguste Dominique (1780-1867): (35) *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, Paris: Louvre (c:3116); (36) *Perseus Freeing Andromeda*, Paris: Louvre (e:1224r).

Lorrain, Claude (Claude Gellée, 1600-1682): (37) *Narcissus and Echo*, London: National Gallery (a:28073; c:979).

Mantegna, Andrea (1431-1506): (38) *Parnassus*, Paris: Louvre (a:34667; e:682 J-II-r).

Moreau, Gustave (1826-1898): (39) *Jason*, Paris: Luxembourg (e:1302 Br).

Perugino (Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci, c.1450-1523): (40) *Apollo and Marsyas*, Paris: Louvre (a:30199; e:679 Cr).

Pesellino, School of (Pesellino, Francesco, c.1422-1459): (41) *Scenes from the Story of the Argonauts*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (b:822; b:1907; b:1808; c:2266; c:2267).

Picot, Francois Eduard (1786-1868): (42) *Cupid and Psyche*, Paris: Louvre (c:3160).

Pinturicchio (Bernardino di Betto, 1454-1513): (43) *The Return of Ulysses (The Rape of Helen?)*, London: National Gallery (a:16256; e:678 Jr).

Pollaiuolo, Antonio (1433-1498): (44) *Hercules Slaying the Hydra*, Florence: Uffizi (e:600r); (45) *Daphne and Apollo*, London: National Gallery (c:2677); (46) *Rape of Deianira*, New Haven: Yale Art Gallery (a:29320; c:1117).

Pompeii (First Century A.D.): (47) *Studio of Daedalus*, House of the Vettii (a:2079); (48) *Icarus' Fall*, House of the Sacerdos Amundus (a:2148); (49) *Iphigenia at Tauris*, Naples: Museo Nazionale (a:13906); (50) *Punishment of Dirce*, House of the Vettii (a:4287); (51) *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, Naples: Museo Nazionale (a:10257); (52) *Perseus and Andromeda*, Naples: Museo Nazionale (a:7950); (53) *Venus Punishes Cupid*,

Naples: Museo Nazionale (a:4264); (54) *Hercules and Telephus Nursed by the Hind*, Naples: Museo Nazionale (a:2172).

Poussin, Nicolas (1594-1665): (55) *Jupiter Nourished by the Goat Amalthea*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:23939; b:3862); (56) *Selene and Endymion*, Detroit: Institute of Arts (b:7273); (57) *The Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:21449; c:3311); (58) *Achilles on Scyros*, Schaeffer Gallery (b:6819); (59) *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Paris: Louvre (a:31581).

Prud'hon, Pierre Paul (1758-1823): (60) *Zephyr and Psyche*, Paris: Louvre (c:3839).

Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio, 1483-1520): (61) *The Three Graces*, Rome: Farnese Gallery (a:34771).

Rembrandt, van Rijn (1606-1669): (62) *Danae*, Leningrad: Hermitage (c:1045 Mr); (63) *The Rape of Proserpine*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:24287); (64) *The Rape of Europa*, Berlin: Leopold Koppel Collection (b:5727; c:768; d:5575); (65) *Philemon and Baucis*, Washington: National Gallery (a:19775).

Renoir, Pierre Auguste (1841-1919): (66) *Judgment of Paris*, Charles Laughton Collection (a:21735; c:2511).

Rubens, Peter Paul (1577-1640): (67) *The Daughters of Cecrops Finding the Infant Erichthonius*, Oberlin College (b:9217); (68) *Mercury and Argus*, Madrid: Prado (b:6481); (69) *Io and Argus*, Dresden: Gallery (e:1005r); (70) *Meleager and Atalanta*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (b:257); (71) *Medusa*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (e:1006r); (72) *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, Munich: Alte Pinakothek (d:5723; e:1003r); (73) *The Judgment of Paris*, London: National Gallery (a:27341; e:1009r); (74) *Andromeda*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:23954; b:3845; c:1457); (75) *Baucis and Philemon*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (b:8614); (76) *Perseus Fixes Andromeda*, Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum (a:23955; c:3678); (77) *Venus and Adonis*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (a:25503; b:266; c:3448).

Spranger, Bartholomew (1546-1627): (78) *Hercules and Omphale*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (b:5408).

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista (1696-1770): (79) *Venus and Vulcan*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:8555); (80) *Aeneas, Ascanius, and Dido*, Bergamo (c:3741).

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti, 1518-1594): (81) *Bacchus and Ariadne*, Venice: Ducal Palace (a:28197; e:801r).

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Titian (Tiziano Vecelli, 1477/78-1576): (82) *Venus and Adonis*, Washington: National Gallery of Art (a:19721; a:24765; b:517; c:1515); (83) *Danae and the Shower of Gold*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (a:27872; b:5434; c:2807; e:799 Vr); (84) *Rape of Europa*, Boston: Gardner Museum (a:1875; c:3521); (85) *Bacchus and Ariadne*, London: National Gallery (a:16348; c:1193; d:16765; e:797 Ar); (86) *Diana and Callisto*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (b:5438; e:799 Ur); (87) *Endymion and his Flock*, M. Knoedler & Co. (b:5747); (88) *Adonis and his Hound*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (b:662).

Turner, Joseph Mallord William (1775-1851): (89) *Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus*, London: National Gallery (c:2225).

Unknown Painter (17th Century): (90) *Alpheus and Arethusa*, Wildenstein and Co. (b:2354).

Velasquez, Diego Rodriguez de Silva y (1599-1660): (91) *Mercury and Argus*, Madrid: Prado (a:26364).

Veneziano, Domenico (Domenico di Bartolomeo da Venezia, active c.1438-61): (92) *Judgment of Paris*, Glasgow: Municipal Art Collection (a:28654; c:1119).

Veronese, Paolo (Paolo Caliari, 1528-1588): (93)

Diana and Actaeon, Philadelphia Museum of Art (a:15490); (94) *Hercules and Deianira and the Centaur Nessus*, Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (b:5461); (95) *Mars and Venus United by Love*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (a:2429; b:641; c:3606); (96) *Venus and Adonis*, Madrid: Prado (b:5462); (97) *Rape of Europa*, Venice: Ducal Palace (c:3748; e:806 Ar).

Watteau, Jean Antoine (1684-1721): (98) *Judgment of Paris*, Paris: Louvre (b:879); (99) *Jupiter and Antiope*, Paris: Louvre (c:3211).

Watts, George Frederick (1817-1904): (100) *Ariadne in Naxos*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (e:1213 Br).

II

Although hundreds of other paintings of classical myths hang in art galleries all over the world, the number of such paintings available at the moment in 2 x 2 slide form is disgracefully limited. These other paintings, masterpieces many of them, if available in this form, would be even more valuable to the classics instructor than those already listed above because they treat so many myths not included in that list and because they often treat so many aspects of a particular myth. Since we may not be aware

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of what paintings or of how many such mythological paintings do exist, let me list a few, not all, of those that are housed in the Louvre alone:

1. *The Death of Adonis* (Rottenhammer).
2. *Clytemnestra* (Guérin).
3. *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* (La Fosse).
4. *Aeneas Carrying his Father Anchises* (Vanloo).
5. *Venus Orders from Vulcan Arms for Aeneas* (Boucher).
6. *Echo and Narcissus* (Poussin).
7. *The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (di Cosimo).
8. *The Rape of Helen* (Reni).
9. *Phaedra Accusing Hippolytus before Theseus* (Guérin).
10. *Diana and Endymion* (Vanloo).
11. *Hercules Strangling the Serpents* (Carracci).
12. *Hercules and Omphale* (Lemoyne).
13. *Cephalus and Aurora* (Boucher).
14. *Apollo Flaying Marsyas* (Vanloo).
15. *Daphne and Apollo* (Poussin); another by Tiepolo.
16. *Pyramus and Thisbe* (Poussin).

If we borrowed paintings from several of the museums in this country and in Europe, we would get this fairly detailed story of Achilles:

1. *Thetis Immerses the Infant Achilles in the River Styx* (Donato).
2. *Thetis Bringing the Infant Achilles to Chiron* (Pellegrini).
3. *The Education of Achilles* (Regnault, Prematiccio, Batoni, Delacroix, etc.).
4. *Achilles with the Daughters of Lycomedes* (Dell'Abbate).
5. *Ulysses Visits the Court of Lycomedes* (Lorrain).
6. *Achilles Discovered by Ulysses* (Rubens, Tiepolo, Teniers, Poussin, etc.).
7. *Briseis Brought before Agamemnon* (Tiepolo).
8. *The Parting of Achilles and Briseis* (Pompeian Wall Painting).
9. *Ulysses Returning Chryseis to her Father Chryses* (Lorrain).
10. *Achilles Refusing to Fight* (Ingres).
11. *The Wrath of Achilles* (David).
12. *Jupiter and Thetis* (Ingres).
13. *Briseis Returned to Achilles* (Rubens).
14. *Achilles Laments the Death of Patroclus* (Gerard).
15. *Thetis Presents the Armor to Achilles Who Is Mourning the Death of Patroclus* (West).
16. *Achilles Drags the Body of Hector Around the Walls of Troy* (Donato).
17. *Fight for the Body of Achilles* (Wiertz).

The story in painting of other mythological and legendary characters, especially Hercules, is even more detailed.

III

On reflecting generally on this subject of the classical myths in painting and on glancing at the

list of those titles which are and of those which (together with hundreds of others) are not available at the moment in 2 x 2 slide form, I think of several suggestions that should, perhaps, be made.

First, there is need for a *dictionary* of mythological paintings, one containing a brief description of each of the paintings and an illustration, if not of all the paintings, at least of the famous ones. Too often the mere title of a canvas reveals very little about the actual subject. Guérin's *Clytemnestra*, for example, would seem to be, to judge by its title, another portrait. Actually, it is not. According to *Larousse du XXe siècle*, which describes and illustrates many famous works of art of all kinds, and which rightly claims to be for its generous use of illustrations *un véritable musée iconographique*. Guérin's painting depicts the following: Clytemnestra, pushed on by Aegisthus, approaches, knife in hand, the couch of Agamemnon, who is asleep. Herman J. Wechsler's little book, *Gods and Goddesses in Art and Legend* (New York: Pocket Books, 1950), now unfortunately out of print, was certainly a step in the right direction. V. Tocci's recent book, *Dizionario Mitologica* (Rome: Edizioni Librarie Italiane, 1954), is excellent for its many illustrations, especially of recent paintings.

It might be interesting to have also a *handbook* of mythological paintings classified according to galleries so that when visiting the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for example, one could prepare beforehand to see certain of or all of such paintings which the museum possesses.

It might also be interesting to have a series of *monographs* on such subjects as *The Judgment of Paris in Art*. A chronological history of that particular theme, properly illustrated, would be a joy to read and a joy to look at, for it would discuss and illustrate this, the world's first beauty contest, from its earliest appearance on vases (the *Pyxis* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for example) and in mosaics (the first century mosaic from Antioch in the Louvre) to its latest appearance in tapestries, paintings, and engravings. It was, and is still I am sure, a theme intriguing enough to have interested such painters as Veneziano, Scarsellino, Raphael, Cranach, Deutsch, Rubens, Watteau, Dell'Abbate and Calvaert, Feuerbach, Renoir, Cezanne, Boucher, Romano, Albani, Jordaens, La Hyre, Maratte, Giordano, Kauffmann, Donato, Gandolfi, Lucas, Sewell, etc.

There is need also for a book like Prof. Agard's *Classical Myths in Sculpture* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1951). "A survey," Prof. Agard reminds

us, "of classical myths in painting and the graphic arts remains to be made."

And finally, if in addition to slides of classical myths in painting, we had slides of the classical myths in any medium (sculpture, frescoes, engraving, tapestry, gems, coins, and especially vases), we would have a rather complete picture of almost every aspect of a very fascinating subject, a subject which still interests the artists of today.²

KENT SCHOOL

RALPH MARCELLINO

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF RECENT WORK ON ARISTOTLE (1945-)

Perhaps there are six scholars in the United States competent to write a genuine critique of all Aristotelian scholarship; and if one of them did so, the other five would not accept his opinions. My purpose is more modest: to indicate some of the work that has been published since January, 1945, for the benefit of anyone who wishes to study some group of works, some single work, some passage or some concept in the Aristotelian corpus. I omit all reference to the *Poetics*, handled by G. F. Else in *CW* 48 (1955) 73-82, and to *Athénaión Politeia*, of which Sterling Dow is doing a survey to be published in his forthcoming *Martin Classical Lectures*. Moreover, limitations of space prevent my doing anything with the following types of material: works important for Aristotle only by implication or incidentally, work in oriental or Slavic languages, histories of philosophy, encyclopaedias, and translations into languages other than English.

This survey aims to cover the period from 1945 to the end of 1954 with some thoroughness; some items are included from 1955 and later. I have divided the survey into sections and numbered the items *seriatim* to facilitate cross-reference, since it was an insoluble problem where to classify some items.

For assistance of various kinds I am indebted to the library staffs of the Institute for Advanced Study, of Princeton University, and of the Princeton Theological Seminary; to Professor Cherniss of the Institute for Advanced Study, who is not, however, responsible for any view expressed in this survey; and to Mr. Edwin K. Tolan, former Reference Librarian of Hamilton College, now Librarian of Washington and Jefferson College.

2. *American Prize Prints of the 20th Century* by Albert Reese (American Artists Group, Inc., N.Y., 1949) contains three interesting prints: *Andromeda* by Fermin Rocker, *Laocon* by William Hayter, and *Pegasus 1945* by Leo Katz.

The abbreviated titles of journals are either those used in (J. Marouzeau-J. Ernst) *L'Année Philologique*, or obvious. *Autour d'Aristote: Recueil . . . offert à Mons. A. Mansion*, Louvain, 1955, is cited by the short title *Autour d'Aristote*.¹

I.A. Biography, Personality

For more than 30 years all serious work on Aristotle's development has had to take account of Werner Jaeger's *Aristoteles*, Berlin, 1923 (1), which has lately been published in an English translation embodying the author's revisions: *Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of His Development*, 2nd ed., translated by R. Robinson, Oxford, 1948. In this work Jaeger opposes the "scholastic notion of Aristotle as a static system of conceptions," and traces the development and changes in Aristotle's thought in relation to the external events of his life, which Jaeger divides into three periods: (i) the Academy, (ii) the years of travel, and (iii) the period of maturity when Aristotle returned to Athens and founded his own school. It is no derogation of the originality and importance of Jaeger's work to state that he was not the first to perceive that the Aristotelian corpus is not a philosophical unity. Zeller indicated as much; and Thomas Case developed the new approach in his article on Aristotle in the 11th ed. of the *Encyc. Brit.* (Vol. II, 1910, pp. 510-9). Jaeger, however, was the first to set forth the evidence for this theory in detail. He intentionally dealt lightly with the physical, cosmological and biological

1. **BIBLIOGRAPHY.** It is scarcely necessary to mention Marouzeau; the *Bibliographie de la Philosophie*; the *Bulletin Analytique de la Philosophie*; and the *Bibliografia Filosofica Italiana*. For the period before 1946 there is the *Bibliographia Philosophica 1934-45*, edited by G. A. de Brie, Utrecht, 1950.

The following surveys deserve mention: P. Wilpert, "Die Lage der Aristotelesforschung," *ZPhF* 1 (1946-7) 123-40, an excellent review of the literature from Jaeger to the Second World War; A. Calderini, "Bibliografia sommaria di filologia e storia antica I," *Aevum* 21 (1947) 326-43; E. W. Beth, "Symbolische Logik und Grundlegung der exakten Wissenschaften" (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie* 3), Bern, 1948; M. D. Philippe, "Aristoteles" (*Bibliog. Einführungen* 8), Bern, 1948; A. Ferro, "Rassegna di storia della filosofia," *Doxa* 2 (1949) 259-67; D. J. Allan, "Survey of Work Dealing with Greek Philosophy (1945-9)," *PhilosQ* 1 (1950) 62-72; J. Kerchensteiner, "Gli studi di storia della filosofia antica in Germania (1940-9)," *RSF* 5 (1950) 62-76; H.-D. Saffrey and J. Dubois, "Bulletin d'histoire de la philosophie grecque," *RSPb* 34 (1950) 521-50, 35 (1951) 670-7, 37 (1953) 331-6, 38 (1954) 755-67; M. Schiavone, "Studi recenti intorno ad Aristotele," *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 43 (1951) 543-58; E. Weil, "Aristotelica," *RMM* 57 (1952) 446-66; K. Prumm, "Die Fortschritte usw.," *Gregorianum* 35 (1954) 118-43 and 299-323; and Sir D. Ross in Chap. V of *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship*, edited by M. Platnauer, Oxford, 1954.

works, feeling his competence to be less in these areas; subsequent scholars have tried, as we shall see, to supplement and correct Jaeger (e.g., 18, 48).

In dividing Aristotle's life into three periods, J. is in opposition to another important work published before the period of this survey: E. Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto*, 2 vols., Florence, 1936 (1a), in which B. tried to recover as much as possible of the lost works of Aristotle's youth from Epicurean polemics. B. divided Aristotle's career into only a Platonic and a mature period, and his work is concerned chiefly with the former.

Space does not permit a summary of Jaeger's theories of the growth of separate works, important as these theories are. J.'s opinions have been accepted in general, though many details are still uncertain, more is being done on the scientific treatises, and J.'s confinement of empirical method to Aristotle's final period is questioned.²

P. Gohlke, *Aristotelis und sein Werk*, Paderborn, 1948 (2), forms the introduction to G.'s translation of the corpus, a formidable undertaking, for which the reviewers consider G. ill prepared (256). G. distrusts philology: to him, Bonitz' two volumes of text give us the very words of Aristotle, and all the labors of text criticism are but the sport of ingenious pedants—except when the text is obviously corrupt! Quite untrustworthy.

Two essays on Aristotle as a man and scholar. I. Düring, "Aristotle the Scholar," *Arctos* N.S.1 (1954) = *Commentationes in honorem Edwin Linkomies*, pp. 61-77 (3), shows how Aristotle returned Plato-wards in old age; whence it follows that distance from Plato is not a sure criterion of the date of any passage (*vs.* Jaeger). D. enumerates

2. Some criticisms of J.: 3, 16f., 19f., 26, 48, 50, 70, 98, 104, 132, 196, 236, 239, 259, 350, 371.

and illustrates some characteristics of Aristotle as a scholar and scientist. A pleasing essay, not a serious attack on Jaeger. F.J.C.J. Nuyens, "Aristoteles' persoonlijkheid in zijn werk," *Autour d'Aristote*, pp. 69-78 (4), is like 3, but covers all aspects of Aristotle's life. Cf. also 122.

Articles on points connected with the life of Aristotle. P. Merlan, "The Successor of Speusippus," *TAPhA* 77 (1946) 103-11 (5), shows that Aristotle could have succeeded Speusippus as head of the Academy, but was absent in Macedonia; in other words, at the age of 45 Aristotle was still regarded as a Platonist. (What if the Academy did not insist upon orthodoxy? Cf. 163.) G. Boas, "Ancient Testimony to Secret Doctrines," *PbR* 62 (1953) 79-92 (6), shows that there is no valid ancient evidence that Aristotle, Plato, or the Pythagoreans held such doctrines. G. M. A. Grube, "Platonist and Aristotelian," *Phoenix* 2 (1947-8) 15-28 (7), draws the familiar contrast. P. Moraux, "Le réveille-matin d'Aristote," *LEC* 19 (1951) 305-15 (8), describes the alarm-clocks used by Plato and Aristotle and emends Diogenes Laërtius 5.16.

Evidence from inscriptions: M. N. Tod, "Side-lights on Greek Philosophers," *JHS* 77 (1957) 132-41 (8a), see p. 135.

I.B. Works

The most important single study of the canon published since 1945 is P. Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote*, Louvain, 1951 (9), in which M. discusses, with great learning and care, the origin of the three ancient lists of Aristotle's works. Exciting use of bare and unpromising materials. Important review by G. Verbeke in *RPhL* 50 (1952) 90-102.

Equally learned and extraordinarily perverse is J. Zürcher's attempt in *Aristoteles' Werk und Geist*, Paderborn, 1952 (10), to show that the so-called

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works of Aristotle embody the teachings of Theophrastus. (I am not the first to ask, If Theophrastus wrote the works of Aristotle, who wrote the works of Theophrastus?) Z's thesis refuted by many reviewers: e.g., E. Weil in *RMM* 57 (1952) 446-50; but Z's many discussions of separate passages have not been dealt with. I know only of S. Heller, "Kritische Bemerkungen zu dem 4. Kapitel des Buches von J. Zürcher, usw.," *Centaurus* 4 (1955) 34-50 (11) which refutes Z's notion that the mathematical passages in Aristotle depend upon Euclid. Cf. 275.

The supposed "exoteric discourses" have been reexamined by A. Iannone, "I logoi essoterici di Aristotele," *AI* 113 (1954-5) 1-31 (12). I concludes that whenever Aristotle refers to "exoteric discourses" he means his preliminary discussion of the subject found at the beginning of each treatise.

Authenticity of the *Categories*: S. Mansion, "La doctrine aristotélienne de la substance et le traité des *Categories*," *Actes Xe Congrès Internat. de Philosophie*, Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 1097-1100 (13), maintains that the different forms taken by the doctrine of substance in *Cat.* and *Met.* make it unlikely that the former is genuine (cf. 133). L. M. de Rijk answered Mlle. Mansion in "The Authenticity of Aristotle's *Categories*," *Mn* 4 (1951) 129-59 (14), maintaining that the doctrine in *Met.* is a development from the doctrine of *Cat.* De Rijk believes the *Postpraed.* genuine and their teachings thoroughly Aristotelian.

Spuriousness and date of *De mundo*: G. Rudberg, "Gedanke und Gefühl," *SO* Fasc. Suppl. 14 (1953) 1-36 (15), dates the treatise in the first century A.D. on the basis of both style and content. Cf. 305f.

I.C. Chronology of Works: General

A number of attempts have been made recently to expand or correct Jaeger's chronology. One of the most elaborate is D. H. T. Vollenhoven's "De ontwikkelingsgang van Aristoteles" (16), of which two parts have appeared: *Philosophia Reformata* 16 (1951) 16-23 and 21 (1956) 45-80. V. believes that Jaeger (1) and Nuyens (50), in dividing Aristotle's works into three periods, overemphasized the external events of his life; and V. divides the corpus only in two, as Bignone (1a) had done, into a Platonic and an un-Platonic phase, the latter with many subdivisions. The Platonic period is divided into two parts: an instrumentalistic phase, during which Aristotle wrote *Protr.*, *EE* 7 and *EN* 8; and a vitalistic phase, to which are dated *Euthyd.*, *Gryllus*, *End.*, *Phys.* 7, *Top.* 5 and 3, and *EN* 5-7 = *EE* 4-6. The un-Platonic phase will be divided into

fully realistic, semi-realistic and non-realistic parts, of which the first only is included in V's second installment. To this phase V. assigns *Peri philos.*, *Phys.* 1, *De lin. inse.* (which V. believes to be by Theophrastus, but to represent the views of the Academy at this period), and Aristotle's report of Plato's lecture on The Good (cf. 163). On V's peculiar terminology, cf. Guthrie under 18.

Another elaborate attempt at a new chronological scheme: P. Thielscher, "Die relative Chronologie der erhaltenen Schriften des Aristoteles nach den bestimmten Selbstzitaten," *Pb* 97 (1948) 229-65 (17). T's table (p. 265) of Aristotle's writings is derived from a study of all the passages in which Aristotle refers to another of his own works by name with an indication of time. Could not such cross-references have easily been added later by Aristotle or another?

Cf. also 1-3.

I.D. Chronology of Works: Specific Problems

H. E. Runner, a student of Vollenhoven (cf. 16), tries to expand Jaeger's slight treatment of *Phys.*: *The Development of Aristotle Illustrated from the Earliest Books of the Physics*, Kampen, 1951 (18). R. believes against Nuyens (50) that *Phys.* is not a unified work, but was composed in the following order: 7, 1, 2 (1-3, 7-9), 5-6; 3 and 8 later. Good summary of previous work: pp. 11-50 and folding plate at back. Results questioned by Guthrie in *Mind* for 1952, pp. 114-8.

H. D. P. Lee, "Place-names and the Date of Aristotle's Biological Works," *CQ* 42 (1948) 61-7 (19), shows that the majority of places where Aristotle observed biological data are in the Troad, Lesbos, and Macedonia; hence that Aristotle was doing work on biology in 347-335 B.C., from which it appears that Jaeger (1) was wrong to put the exact observation of detail all in Aristotle's last period. L. believes, with D'A. W. Thompson, that Aristotle's biological interests were lifelong.

The problem of the structure of *Met.*, opened by Jaeger in *Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles*, Berlin, 1912, and further elaborated in 1, has received much attention lately. A.-H. Chroust, "The Composition of Aristotle's Metaphysics," *New Scholasticism* 28 (1954) 58-100 (20), provides a useful summary of earlier work. Not available to Chroust was P. Gohlke, *Die Entstehung der aristotelischen Prinzipienlehre*, Tübingen, 1954 (21), in which G. distinguishes stages in the composition of *Phys.* and *Met.* D. Pró, "Evolución de la Metafísica de Aristóteles," *Actes XIe Congrès internat. de philosophie*, 1953, XII, pp. 91-5 (22), is a bare summary with little proof. Cf. 338f.

Relationship between the two *Ethics*: Y. Nolet de Brauwere, "Les tableaux aristotéliciens des vertus et des vices," *AIPbO* 12 (1952) 345-60 (23), in which de B. shows that *EE* 1220b36-1b3 was probably written before *EE* 3 was completed, on which in turn rests *EN* 1107a32-8b10.

Lost work *On Nutrition*: P. Louis, "Le Traité d'Aristote sur la nutrition," *RPh* 26 (1952) 29-35 (24). First form abandoned when Aristotle laid out the program of biological works sketched in *Meteor* 1.1; second version never written.

(To be continued in Vol. 50, No. 3)

HAMILTON COLLEGE

HERBERT S. LONG

Professor Long's article is the 20th in the *CW* series of survey articles on recent work in the classical field. See *supra*, p. 32.

IN THE JOURNALS

This column is intended primarily to be of service to teachers of Latin in secondary schools. New investigations and evaluations of the lives and works of Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, and information concerning the Rome of their era, constantly appear in classical periodicals, American and European. Unfortunately, too frequently these valuable studies are unknown or inaccessible to teachers and interested students. CW plans to summarize each month certain articles which seem informative and pertinent to classroom use. Obviously, such summaries will present, rather than criticize. Equally obviously, no summary can supplant the wealth of the arguments offered in the original articles; readers are urged to procure, when possible, the periodicals in which they appear.

Most Latin teachers are aware that ancient coins hold a peculiar fascination for the modern student. These palpable bits of the past, with their hints of history and suggestion of adventure, often serve to remind young people of the tangible reality of the world they have studied in literature. An informative adjunct to an appreciation of the coins themselves is an understanding of the techniques by which they were made.

In a finely illustrated article, "Minting Greek and Roman Coins," *Archaeology* 10 (Summer 1957), pp. 100-107, Professor Cornelius Vermeule of Bryn Mawr presents an excellent and easily available introduction to this subject. Emphasizing the wide difference between our machine produced, impersonal coinage, and the aesthetic individuality of ancient pieces, he points out that Greek and Roman coins were minted by craftsmen working with simple equipment and techniques. Cast coins, produced by

the pouring of molten metal into clay molds, were relatively uncommon, and were generally the work of counterfeiters. The standard technique involved the following steps: 1) the engraving of a lower die and an upper, or punch die; 2) the placing of a hot or cold cast metal blank between the dies; 3) sharply striking with a hammer the punch die to stamp the coin with its two designs. Such procedure obviously did not lend itself to mass production; by virtue of this fact, each ancient coin possesses an individuality not possible with the product of the modern mint. While less utilitarian than the nickels and dimes of today (they could not be stacked, had no milled edges to prevent clipping, and, happily, would not fit automatic coin machines), they were struck by methods which allowed for designs in higher relief, and with a greater variation of surface than is possible with our techniques of minting. This greater freedom of design contributed to their superior beauty.

The comparative informality of the ancient methods led to some odd results, as in the issuance of coins which were "double struck" (with two impressions of the same die), and the circulation of some pieces originally minted by one city and re-struck by another (so that the impressions of both are still visible, one over the other).

In concluding, the author outlines the titles and duties of workers engaged at the mint in Rome in the second century A.D.: the *sculptores*, who engraved the dies; the *flaturarii*, who cast the blanks for coining; the *conductores flatura*e, who directed them; the *suppostor*, who placed the blank between the dies; the *malleator*, who struck the upper die with his hammer; and the *signator*, who apparently held the die in place while it was being struck.

A useful bibliography, appended to Vermeule's essay, will aid the reader who wishes to pursue the subject at greater length.

* * *

In taking stock of the many achievements of Roman civilization, we sometimes forget a "first" of considerable significance: the Romans were the earliest people to cultivate the studies of comparative linguistics and comparative literature. The language of comparison was, of course, Greek. How was this foreign tongue introduced into Roman culture, and what were the effects of its assimilation? P. Boyancé ("La Connaissance du Grec à Rome," *Revue des Etudes Latines* 34 (1956), pp. 111-131) offers us a brief but illuminating commentary on these questions and a few of the problems they raise.

The Romans, he writes, are the first people to

have discovered that secret of humanism which consists of self cultivation through the systematic study of a foreign language. Early in their history, they came to appreciate the enrichment given by the knowledge of another tongue. The cultured Roman always had two hearts and knew two languages — Greek, and his own.

He did not, however, look down on his language because of his knowledge of Greek. On the contrary, the cultured Roman wanted to maintain the purity of his native Latin. Among others, Scipio Aemilianus and Cicero believed it the part of dignity to avoid over-literal borrowings from Greek; they did not want Latin to imitate that tongue, but wished it to become a beautiful literary language like Greek. This, observes Boyancé, is the liberating action of true humanism — not the enervation of literal imitation, but the stimulus of the spirit of rivalry.

The Romans may have borrowed their first Greek words in the sixth century. But when did they begin to *speak* Greek? We know that at first, it was necessary to resort to interpreters for translations from the Sybilline Books. Probably little Greek was used until the Romans entered into direct and extensive contact with the cities of southern Italy. In 282, Postumius, ambassador to Tarentum, took the notion

of speaking Greek publicly in that city, but his errors brought laughter and jeers from his audience. Soon, however, it was essential for Roman ambassadors in Greece to use the language of that country; certainly the great philhellenic statesmen, such as Aemilius Paulus and Flamininus, knew the language well. But where Rome ruled (whether in the capital city itself, or in newly subjected Macedonia), Latin remained the official language, and foreigners either had to speak it or resort to interpreters when engaged in business of state. No one was allowed to use Greek when addressing the senate, until the later years, when hellenism had completed its conquest.

As time passed, more and more Roman statesmen spoke Greek in public. For example, the father of the Gracchi, consul in 177 and 163, impressed the people of Rhodes with the purity of his language. Licinius Crassus, consul in 131, proconsul of Asia, did better still; when presiding over the law courts, he could give his decisions in any of five Greek dialects. Thus, while the lower classes (especially the merchants) probably were the first to borrow Greek words, it was the aristocrats — men such as Flamininus and the Scipios — who introduced real study of Greek and diffused the knowledge of that language; those who opposed this new humanism were plebeians, among them, Cato, and later, Marius.

The first school we know of was conducted by Spurius Carvilius, freedman of the consul of 234 and 218. (The consul was also the first Roman to divorce his wife, a fact which Boyancé hesitates to relate to the educational innovation.) Did this freedman teach Greek in his school? Probably, and it is very possible that he *was* a Greek. Soon Livius Andronicus and Ennius, poets and schoolmasters, were offering instruction in both languages. From this time on, the teaching of the two languages was so common that Sertorius, wishing to introduce in Spain the Roman form of education, caused the children of the noblest families in one town to be instructed in both literatures. There even existed a tradition of teaching Greek before beginning Latin, a practice approved by Quintilian on the ground that the child will learn Latin in any event (because of his milieu), and secondly, since Latin learning is derived from the Greek, Quintilian even foresees the danger that the pupil, having concentrated on Greek, will, when he studies Latin, speak it with a Greek accent!

Many educated Romans habitually wrote in Greek, in preference to Latin. This is not surprising; what is more remarkable is that most such Romans, bypassing the advantages of a developed literary tongue and the wide audience it could command, chose to

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compose their works in Latin. This, Boyancé remarks, is a vital fact of Roman humanism—these men understood that humanism depends on commitment both to a universal ideal (here supplied by Greece) and to the living present.

How general was the knowledge of Greek? It appears that, in Rome at least, Latin soon became the tongue even of those of hellenic origin; again, it was the upper classes who kept Greek alive. Possibly because of its prestige, it was often used by courtesans, and Juvenal calls it the language of stolen *amours*. At the opposite end of the scale, Greek was used in the ritual of certain foreign cults, especially those from the East. When Christianity came to Rome, Greek was its first tongue; not until Pope Victor (189-98) did Latin become the liturgical language.

Many Romans, including Quintilian, sensed that Greek was, in several respects, superior to Latin: in charm, in grace, in simplicity. Cicero will not admit this. He denies that Latin cannot achieve the "divine simplicity" of Greek; that the appropriate term is not always available in his native tongue, and that of necessity Latin must cultivate metaphor and periphrasis. In practice, however, he does admit it, by his mastery of those devices and of the peculiar

virtues (as Quintilian sees them) of the Latin language—*pondus* and *copia*. The genius of the Latin language imposed itself on Cicero. His talent lay in intuiting this genius and obeying it.

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NOTES AND NEWS

The *American Academy in Rome* is again offering a limited number of fellowships in classical studies for mature students. Fellowships are open to citizens of the United States for one year beginning Oct. 1, 1958, with a possibility of renewal. They carry a stipend of \$1250, round trip transportation between New York and Rome, residence at the Academy, and an additional travel allowance. Special research fellowships carry a stipend of \$2500 and residence at the Academy.

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The death of Giovanni Cardinal Mercati, former Prefect of the Vatican library and friend of many American scholars, on August 22, 1957, at the age of 90, was reported in the *New York Times* (Aug. 23, 1957, p. 19).

The Autumn Meeting of the *Classical Association of the Atlantic States* will be held in Atlantic City, Friday afternoon, November 29 (Executive Com-

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mittee session), and Saturday morning, November 30 (program session). The program for the Saturday morning session appears at page 43 of this issue.

Communications for consideration by the Executive Committee may be addressed to the officers or regional representatives of C.A.A.S. at the addresses indicated below.

REVIEWS, omitted for reasons of space in this issue, will be resumed in Vol. 51, No. 3.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ADELSON, HOWARD L. *Light Weight Solidi And Byzantine Trade During the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*. ("Numismatic Notes and Monographs," No. 138.) New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1957. Pp. ix, 187; 14 pl.; 1 map. \$5.00.

BECKER, OSKAR. *Das mathematische Denken der Antike*. ("Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft," Heft 3.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957. Pp. 128; 70 figs. DM 9.50.

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A MOMENT WITH HORACE . . .

TO ONE GREATER

Whoever strives to rival Pindar, flies
On wings of Daedalus and quickly falls
When mocking sun dissolves those waxyen ties.
O Poet, the torrent of thy words recalls
A mountain river swollen by the rain,
Rushing, seething,—bursting common thralls.
Thy deep-toned voice in dithyrambs of pain
Or joy doth sing of heroes, kings, and gods—
To win Apollo's crown that few attain.
While I, a humble bard, delve in the clods
Or labor like the bee to build my song,
Knowing that, although a Homer nods,
Thy name, not mine, will be remembered long.

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I'LL HAND IT TO YUH

A second-rater just can't make the grade
That real top-notchers set fer shootin' at—
But tryin' means that many a egg is laid.
A phony build-up sets a puny gnat
To act the way an eagle does until—
One puff of wind—the lightweight falls down flat.
Now me—I struggle up a little hill
An' sit on top the world—the world to me—
While you have climbed a peak and made a kill.
Yea, class will tell, as any dope can see
Who knows the diff'rence 'twixt real gold an' paint.
There's stuff enough fer them as has the key:
But, Brother, yuh plain got it or yuh ain't.

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